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ABSTRACT

The document presents the proceedings of an international symposium analyzing the relationship among youth, education, and employment, with emphasis on youth employment trends and the need to find solutions for unemployment problems. The objectives are to evaluate the existing relationship in the light of changing values and expectations of young people, and the widening gap between educational parameters of the relationship; and to exchange information on innovative experiences. The document is presented in six chapters. Chapter I summarizes a similar symposium held in England. Chapter II discusses the increase of youth unemployment and the potential and limitations of the educational system. Chapter III cites variables governing the labor market and suggests approaches which might find solutions. Chapter IV details employment problems of 16 to 19-year-olds having only compulsory education and offers some policy measures. Chapter V suggests separate schools for post-16 education and training, listing advantages to be derived. The final chapter reports on the symposium discussions and summarizes. Major conclusions are that the rising trend of youth unemployment is not just a temporary aberration and that the age of admission to the primary labor market is rising due to demographic, economic, organizational, and sociological reasons. New policies are needed in both employment and education to meet this situation. Statistical data on youth unemployment in Europe is appended. (CK)

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YOUTH - EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT

SO 011 205

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January 1978

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INTRODUCTION

by Ladislav Cerych

The symposium, of which the papers in this report form an integral part was held under the auspices of the Institute of Education of the European Cultural Foundation, the International Council for Educational Development (New York) and the Carnegie Council for Policy Studies in Higher Education, at Fère-en-Tardenois in France from 27 to 30 April 1977. The symposium was attended by some thirty leading experts from a dozen of European countries and from the United States. Six months earlier, in October 1976, a similar symposium, intended primarily for British and American participants, was organised by ICED and the Carnegie Council at Ditchley Park, England.

Both symposia shared the following objectives :

1. the evaluation of existing relations between youth, education and employment in the light of the changing values and expectations of young people, and the seemingly widening gap between educational and economic developments ;
2. a better understanding of the parameters of this relationship, sociological, economic and educational ;
3. an exchange of information on innovative experiences.

A deliberately overlapping membership ensured a high continuity of discussion between the two symposia.

Some assumptions were taken for granted initially, although challenged in the seminars themselves :

1. the proper education and employment of youth is a most serious, generally pervasive, and probably permanent feature of industrial (and possibly developing) societies. While obviously there are short term economic and social influences at work, deeper and long-run tides are involved

requiring more fundamental considerations ;

2. local and "grass-roots" activity is indispensable but policies at the national level will raise up potential solutions to the size of the problem ;

3. youth programmes run by educational institutions, industry and governments are all important. They can be studied separately but must also be examined as instruments that, to be effective, should relate to and be mutually supportive of each other ;

4. young people are not a homogeneous mass. Youth (for our purpose, those between 15 and 24), must be separated out with respect to age and/or educational levels attained, as follows :

   a) those leaving school at the end of compulsory schooling (in Europe the majority at 15/16 years, in the United States also drop outs from high school) and who are not provided with any further formal education or organized training ;

   b) those with more or less complete secondary education (whether general or technical) or completed vocational training (apprenticeship, etc.) ;

   c) those with some form of post secondary education.

For the Fère-en-Tardenois symposium, with which these proceedings are concerned, the structure of the discussions owed much to these assumptions, concentrating on the three main "agents" which can contribute to the solution of problem, namely the education system itself, industry and services, and government.

The papers which follow start with a report by Willard WIRTZ summing up the Ditchley symposium, succeeded by the three main papers presented at Fère-en-Tardenois. That by Ladislav CERYCH comments on the potential and limitations of the education system. Jacques DELORS examines the role of industry and work in general and Olav MAGNUSSEN makes a number of suggestions with regard to public policy concerning especially early school leavers. A short account by David MOORE of a British development has been included

because of its intrinsic interest and the papers conclude with a report on the discussions, by Stuart MACLURE. A statistical annex based on documents on youth unemployment prepared by the Commission of the European Communities and OECD, as well as a list of participants of the Père-en-Tardenois symposium and a publications list close the volume.

It goes without saying that the Institute is exceedingly grateful, not only to the paper writers and rapporteurs but also to all those who participated. Special thanks are due to ICED and its Chairman J.A. PERKINS, co-organisers of the symposium, as well as to the Carnegie Corporation and the German Marshall Plan, for their financial support for this meeting. The level of discussions was both high and full of wisdom and I believe that valuable insights have been forged for the future. It is to assist their dissemination that this publication has been prepared.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

ON

YOUTH - EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT

held at Ditchley Park,

England

October 1976.

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THE DITCHLEY PARK CONFERENCE : A REPORT

by Willard Wirtz

I report first on a matter of general character. The primary charge to the participants was to consider whether there is, in England and the United States today, a "youth problem" of such critical degree and dimensions that it warrants special national action. My report is that in the view of all the participants there is indeed such a problem.

The force of this conclusion is increased by its having been arrived at through the consideration of three elements in it which have separate significance.

First, do the British and United States situations have enough in common to couple them ? It emerged implicitly in the discussions in two groups and explicitly in the third (though with a single reservation expressed there) that the participants' answer to this first subsidiary question is Yes. The contexts are different, and similarly the manifestations of the problem. But the statistical measures (when they are properly conformed) show closely comparable situations. Most important, it emerged that the two sets of experiences - in some ways quite different - offer very substantial exchange value. The participation in the conference of distinguished delegates from Belgium, Germany and Iran enriched immeasurably, furthermore, this comparative consideration. We all face many of the same problems.

A second element of the question gave the conferees longer pause : is whatever youth problem there may be one that can be dealt with effectively, either analytically or operationally, apart from the broader circumstances and vicissitudes of these two societies ? In various forms all these groups identified "structural" elements peculiar to the youth unemployment situation. In at least two groups it was specifically recognized that the youth situation (not only in its employment but in other

aspects) is significantly affected by macroeconomic developments and policies, and that policies and programmes directed solely at youth are no substitute for responsible and constructive broad macroeconomic fiscal and monetary measures. But the clear conclusion was that while such measures will alleviate the youth problem, they would not suffice to meet it.

The third and most critical part of the broad question is whether whatever is involved here is properly and constructively thought of and approached in terms of its being a youth problem or rather a congeries of problems. On this front, the apparent dispute at the start contributed to strengthening the eventual full, or at least substantial, accord.

In one form of this question, it should be noted, the conferees' answer is essentially cautionary. Asked specifically whether this subject is appropriately and helpfully considered in terms of identification of the 16-21 year age group as such, the conference answer appears to be No, probably not - or that this identification suggests at best no more than the rough perimeters of the target of concern area (not permitting, in the conference vernacular,"zeroing-in"). It was not clear that, as far as distinctions are made in terms of chronological age, there are sharp differences between the circumstances and needs of the 16-17 year age group, the 18-19, or perhaps 20, year age group, and the 20 (or perhaps 21) to 24 (perhaps 25) year age group. It seemed to be the strong sense of the conference that, except as statistics must be developed, specific age lines are artificial ; the participants would probably not recommend the categorisation of affirmative action programmes in age-group terms except as made necessary by unavoidable administrative considerations.

In a related but more important connection there was a good deal of emphasis, particularly in the opening sessions, on the desirability of "disaggregating" the youth population, because of the different problems different youth groups face. A "typology of youth" suggested at the first plenary by Martin Trow was endorsed by the conferees through repeated

subsequent reference and resort to it. This typology (suggested by Trow as a means to "disaggregate the larger category "youth" in a way that is relevant to the design of public policies for youth") includes four categorisations of youth :

i. the "advantaged" (those with adequate family financial resources and adequate early education and socialisation) ;

ii. the "alienated" (those with adequate family financial resources but inadequate early education and socialisation) ;

iii. the "disadvantaged" (those with inadequate family financial resources but adequate early education and socialisation) ;

iv. the "deprived" (those with inadequate family financial resources and inadequate early education and socialisation).

Yet this emphasis on "disaggregation" emerged as an approach principle rather than as a reason or argument for programme or policy diffusion. To the contrary, it directs attention to a variety of problems, none of which may be left out responsibly. There are pieces to be handled ; but also to be put together.

Alan Pifer's question at the first plenary - of whether there is a youth unemployment problem to be considered alone, a youth education problem to be contemplated alone, a youth service potential to be pursued alone, a set of youth social pathologies to be dealt with alone - was answered by the conference in what emerged as the central and dominant theme of its deliberations : there is an inexorably intertwined set of interactive forces which not only converge around the experience of passage from youth to adulthood but must be shaped to meet its demands. Only the manifestations of the youth problem, not its causes or its cures, are separable. Youth unemployment rates, measures of diminishing educational attainment, juvenile delinquency and crime rates, sharp reflections of youth alienation - are all only different thermometer readings of the same fever. It does not mean that there is a single cause or a single cure, but dictates a thoroughly coordinated overall therapy.

But the easiness of the rhetoric was not permitted to camouflage the difficulty of what is involved here. For what this means is that the society's institutionalisation - along what has been referred to at the conference as vertical lines - in terms of education, for example, and unemployment and health and law enforcement, has exacerbated the problem under consideration and must yield to the development of an institutional structure and approach here along a horizontal line, taking youth - the passage to adulthood - as the area of responsibility. It is a measure of the realism (recognizing the self-serving nature of the term) that characterised the conference's deliberations that each group of participants identified the worst obstacles to new youth policy-making as being the "iron web of bureaucracy". The necessary condition of effective new youth policies will be new processes and painful incursions on jealously guarded institutional turfs.

So the critical report is that in the conferees' clear and strong view there is in the contemporary industrial society a youth problem of extraordinary, unprecedented, and worsening proportions - lying beyond the reach of macroeconomic, counter-cyclical measures and defying established institutional approaches. The development of a discrete Fuller Youth Opportunity Policy is counted by this conference a critical imperative today in both England and the United States alike.

The rest is detail. To a significant extent, the various groups' deliberations have been reported in terms of policy and programme recommendations. So the rest of this report is in that form. It is arranged, at least roughly, in the pattern of the conference organisers' division of the discussion subject matter into four parts :

1. Youth Unemployment (non-college)

   The "non-college" designation refers to those groups of young people who go straight from secondary school into the labour force.

2. Education and Training (non-college)

3. College Youth. This was revised in conference usage to become Post-Secondary Education.

4. Youth Organizations and Community Service by Youth.

It must be made clear that what is put before the plenary at this point is an interim report of the separate deliberations of three groups. So far as the report presents affirmative action recommendations it is for the plenary's choice among them, or at least for its suggestions of priorities of importance and political feasibility. It is both the privilege and the responsibility of a committee to dream a little. So one of our groups took its counsel from a member's reminder of the adage "Pay peanuts, get monkeys", and another's invoking of Bevan's lament that "Britain's weakness is a poverty of expectations". Yet a second was receiving the sterner advice that "There must be compromise. Don't overdesign. Be practical. All ideals are self-defeating".

Probably none at this conference would think it either feasible or wise to try to implement all of the proposals made by all three groups. Here, then, are some alternatives to choose from and among - or to improve upon :

1 YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT (NON-COLLEGE)

Two sets of proposals (or schemes) were outlined - one coming from the British side, the other from the American - which consolidated collective ideas on work, education, training and community service. Sorting these two out permits noting the respects in which they found support or opposition.

First, the proposal from the United Kingdom side of a Youth Opportunity Guarantee Scheme. All youth between the ages of 16 and 20 who have been out of work for from 3 to 6 months would be assured created work, service, or training options - perhaps in combination.

The programme would be funded by supplementary benefits, with some additional funds to assure motivation (but with stipends below the bargained wage rate). It would become operative whenever and wherever youth unemployment rises to a certain percentage level (to be agreed on with the unions).

Call the proposal from the American side (though it was not so designated) a Comprehensive Youth Opportunities Programme. This proposal differs from the British one in two respects : it would not be limited to high unemployment times or areas or to unemployed youth ; and instead of starting from an absolute guarantee to every individual of a work or service opportunity it would be based on the expansion of various different kinds of programmes. It would include at least these five components :

(i) A National Youth Service Programme, federally subsidised and administered centrally by ACTION (an independent federal agency), but with the funds going to a variety of local agencies (including, though not exclusively, private for-profit and not-for-profit organisations, and self-help co-operatives) for environmental and social service projects, and projects involving the construction or rehabilitation of housing and community facilities.

(ii) Programmes of National Priority. Any Federal agency administering programmes involving the employment of significant numbers of people in projects of national importance (e.g., the development of new mass transit or housing) could apply to the Office of Youth Initiatives for supplementary funding for the purpose of adding to projects cadres of young people who would be employed on useful add-on project elements and afforded simultaneous educational and training opportunities.

(iii) Opportunities in Private Enterprise - to be developed as bridge or apprenticeship jobs by private employers recruited by the

Federal Small Business Administration, the Office of Minority Business Enterprises, or the Economic Development Administration.

(iv) A Work-Study Programme, involving the allocation of federal funds to provide off-campus jobs and co-operative education programmes with private employers ; to be available particularly, but not exclusively to post-secondary students.

(v) National Student Employment Corporation, in which students would receive as part of their education (and therefore not within the coverage of the minimum wage law) work or service employment experience in activities not competing with adult employment activities.

In discussing these two proposals, we can note a series of considerations which serve as a convenient checklist of those common to all of our discussions.

(a) The need to bargain with the unions is noted - with the reported "sense that this is feasible".

(b) Both the United Kingdom and the United States proposals are identified as involving no mandatory element whatsoever. All participants considered this issue in one form or another ; all concluded that contemporary British and American attitudes preclude meaningful consideration of any except voluntary programmes.

(c) The "political constraints on government-financed community service" are noted, with the accompanying injunction that the price of ignoring this factor will be "that the schemes will die". One discussion group noted the probable need for some extra resources, but expressed confidence (less fully shared by others) that the suggested programmes can be financed largely by "shifting existing resources around".

(d) There is reference here to the "iron web of bureaucracy" concern.

(e) The importance was noted of whatever new scheme is prepared being "right" - to insure against young people feeling they are being patronized.

(f) These proposals were identified as being essentially short-term, but as being appropriately designed to "pioneer long-term ideas, e.g. changing the capital/labour relationship to increase labour-intensive activities and re-introducing lost crafts". The same thought was carried further in noting the importance of increasing emphasis on "youth-intensive job creation" rather than "labour-intensive" or "capital-intensive" jobs.

The opposition to this position is perhaps most helpfully (for purposes of the plenary discussion) identified as one of expressed scepticism about the direction, or at least the reach, of these two proposals. While some parts of the American Comprehensive Youth Opportunities Programme were supported, emphasis was also placed on other elements found in the youth unemployment situation and on certain reservations about limitless subsidized youth employment.

These reservations stem from a listing of the special factors that can be found accentuating the employment difficulties of young people :

(a) There are fewer low-grade jobs than there used to be.

(b) There is less willingness of young people to take low-grade jobs ; and "less inclination on the part of employers to employ less attractive youth".

(c) There is increasing concentration in the inner cities of young people who have special difficulties finding jobs and who have no access to expanding job opportunities in the suburbs.

(d) Entry level wage rates are rising in some sectors of the economy.

(e) The welfare system "permits alternating between work and leisure, from choice as well as necessity".

(f) Employment protection legislation and labour union policy mean that younger and older people bear the brunt of economic adjustment in recession.

One group's consideration of the Swedish experience with substantial subsidising of private employment (increasing employment and productivity, reducing welfare payments, increasing tax payments, neutralising inflation) prompts the group to the conclusion that while this suggests the desirability of better uses of welfare funds (to create jobs), any substantial adoption of such a programme in the United Kingdom and the United States is unlikely.

Those opposing the original two proposals were more generally hospitable to the concept of subsidized employment of youth in the public sector, perhaps particularly in the social services area (and in the suggested pattern of a "National Service" programme), although this proposal is implicitly imputed more to the Americans than to the British members of the group.

They counselled against "overloading the objective - which is a job" - by insisting (among other things) on training other than that required to perform the job.

With reference to proposals in the pattern of the Youth Opportunity Guarantee Scheme described above, a final caveat was made against proposed expenditures "in the British context", exceeding the costs of present youth welfare programmes.

It appears appropriate to include another central policy recommendation here, even though it did not develop from a consideration of youth unemployment as such and is much broader in nature. This recommendation is

perhaps legitimately oversimplified (to serve the interest of consideration at this plenary session) as being for the adoption of a system which would give young people the opportunity to serve society in some useful way, and pay for this by vouchers which each individual could cash in at any time during his or her lifetime - for education or other worthwhile pursuits - to be saved, if the individual desires, for use in midcareer or for early retirement. The proposal is to permit young people buy freedom with service.

The essence of this proposal is the assumption that youth want to help and that they are capable of contributing in a worthwhile way to the welfare of society. The service idea is important in overcoming a prevalent disposition that modern industrial societies presently tend to reject youth.

Facing the potential cost issues squarely, it was noted (but not without some disagreement on the point) that it would be worth considering the kind of cost-effectiveness analysis which would be illustrated by inquiring whether it would be a wiser use of time and resources for society to subsidize young people in this way then to retire older people (compulsorily) earlier and earlier, and subsidising them.

The voucher-compensated-youth-service proposal reflects a concentrated consideration of what was elsewhere only touched on lightly : that the world is increasingly functioning through largely specialised organisations run by professionals and encumbered with regulations - with the effect of excluding young people from real participation in meaningful social and economic roles. (Note that this is an extension of the "iron web of bureaucracy" point). Ways must therefore be sought of increasing participation - including necessarily the exercise of power (derived from the exercise of responsibility) by youth ; and power is never given. Young people's essential handicap with regard to their effective integration into society is their not having an independent power position. A proposal was considered to establish National Youth Councils, with local affiliates,

but encountered some differences of opinion largely over issues of politicisation.

In further support of the voucher-compensated-youth-service proposal (which is identified, however, as only illustrative) four overriding policy principles were identified :

(i) that the varying needs of different kinds of youth require different programme responses. There is no single answer ; many options are needed.

(ii) emphasizing a point noted earlier that the youth problem is not a school or an employment problem alone ; that it cuts across present institutional lines and therefore requires collaborative solutions.

(iii) that there must be participation by youth in the design and operation of youth programmes and policies, and assured individual free choice by young people among the options open to them.

(iv) that youth policies be put together as a relatively simple and easily understood package.

One final note about the consideration of this first area. With a single reported exception, the discussion dealt almost exclusively with the question of insufficiency in the number of youth employment opportunities. There was virtually no attention to the matter of the quality of youth work - which gives particular point to the implication of one of the younger participants' suggestion to his colleagues, that "the problem is not that young people want a larger share of the pie, but that they don't like the taste of the pie".

2. EDUCATION AND TRAINING (NON-COLLEGE)

Discussion on this point started from the urging of a new commitment to three competencies in young people :

(i) much improved basic skill acquisition in an interesting practical context.

(ii) development of critical thinking ;

(iii) development of a "doing skill".

It includes the further specific recommendations that the later years of compulsory education include

(i) at least six months of work outside school for credit and

(ii) courses that include work and study. "Take it as the major theme", we are urged, "that learning and doing be brought together".

Turning to unemployed, out-of-school youth, the development of programmes combining earning, learning, and job skill acquisition were proposed - centred particularly on the development of basic literacy essential (among other reasons) to hold a job of any sort. Reference is made to the relevancy here of the consideration that there will be large numbers of vacant school buildings and surplus teachers in the next decade.

It was also recommended that there should be, within commuting distance of all young people open access institutions (no or low tuition, or with grants for low-income groups) that provide instruction in occupational fields as well as academic areas, transferable to universities.

Finally it was proposed that there be a much expanded development of the apprenticeship system, with the infusion of capital grants from the Government, for use in new occupational areas (particularly in human service areas).

Strong emphasis was placed on the potential value of collaborative processes developed at the local level to bring the schools, employers, and representatives of the community at large together in improving career guidance and counselling, in service training of teachers by secondment to industry, and so on.

It was also urged that increased effort be made to reduce the rigidities of scholastic scheduling and to avoid overprogramming youth. Better linkages should be developed between secondary schools, work periods, national service, and tertiary schooling. Students should be permitted to keep their options open, to be allowed to fail without its becoming a permanent bar. There should be opportunity to move from school to work and then back to school. In all three discussion groups there was a significant emphasis in one form or another on the importance of thinking about education and work in a way that not only links the two together but puts primary emphasis on jobs.

3. POST SECONDARY EDUCATION

Do not fret, we were advised about the apparent overproduction of college graduates - for industry is moving in the direction of requiring a higher percentage of managerial types, more people who have learned how to continue to grow.

Particular significance was attached to the potential of proprietary colleges with a strong vocational emphasis - as to some extent an alternative, at least in the United States, to the growth of community colleges. The proprietary colleges have the strength and attraction of reflecting a clear response to the forces of the market place ; they are attractive to many young people because of their nonacademic atmosphere, their minimising of the prospect of failure, and their substantial promise of employment prospects.

4. YOUTH ORGANISATIONS AND COMMUNITY SERVICE BY YOUTH

To a considerable extent, and perhaps regrettably (though this is not clear), discussion of this fourth subject area became largely merged into the consideration of youth unemployment.

Both of the two original proposals outlined above, particularly the

Comprehensive Youth Opportunities, contemplate the substantial expansion of publicly subsidised youth service programmes.

More particularly it was noted that the history of youth service in both Britain and the United States is "one of involvement from élite, conservative, adult controlled projects to more radical, youth run community organisations, which quickly run into political constraints", and that "there is little current interest in putting public funds into community service as such". Nonetheless "large-scale, possible permanent youth unemployment creates a totally different setting and political opportunity to create community service opportunities for a very different group of youth than hitherto participated in them". In other words, there is support, for an increased emphasis on publicly subsidised youth service potential.

For others however, consideration of the values of youth social service programmes was apparently dominated by the emphasis on the question of youth power. The recorded urging "not to eliminate the limbo in which youth find themselves, but maximize rather the opportunity it presents - to do something for someone other than yourself" must have collided jarringly with another reported conclusion that "what kids need is power ; it is lack of power that leads to rejection".

Others still reported "general support for the idea of a national service programme" (United States terminology) to guarantee employment to all young people in public or nonprofit agencies along the lines put forward by the National Service Secretariat although here again is added the qualifying phrase : "In the US context".

The consensus is apparently to support this set of proposals.

I wish that this report had been shorter. It has been so much about the details of discussion group deliberations that the facts became enemies, in Cervantes' way of putting it, to the truth. The truth is that in every group, by an interesting variety of approaches, there was the attempt to

express the deep conviction that two momentarily dispirited nations - down in the mouth, but this, contrary to their nature - will find in the enlargement of their younger members' prospects the superior opportunity to restore national self-confidence. We used to remark lightly on youth being too great a pleasure to waste on the young. We see it today as that part of the life experience most in need of enrichment - if the future is to remain the good idea we all here continue to count it.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

ON

YOUTH - EDUCATION - EMPLOYMENT

held at Fère-en-Tardenois,

France

April 1977.

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YOUTH EMPLOYMENT :
THE POTENTIAL AND LIMITATIONS OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

by Ladislav Cerych

Hardly anybody would disagree with the statement that the problem of youth employment represents one of the key issues which the governments of virtually every Western European country currently have to face, and that it is becoming more and more pressing. Table 1 illustrates this statement in a comparative perspective of seven of the nine Member States of the European Communities. In most of these countries, youth unemployment has increased by a factor of five or more between 1967 and 1976, a large part of this deterioration taking place in the course of the last five years. Often an even blacker picture is anticipated for 1977. Thus a serious French weekly (1) speaks of 750,000 young unemployed for the Autumn of 1977, well over double the table's 1976 figure of 305,000.

What can the education system do, and what does it actually do, to reverse this trend ? The purpose of the present paper is not specifically to answer this question, but rather to put forward some facts and hypotheses for discussion.

The evidence about the capacity of the education system (2) to face the employment problem is extremely conflicting. On the one hand it is clear from all available statistics that, overall, a strong negative correlation exists between the rate of unemployment and the level of formal education. Table 2 illustrates clearly this relationship. It is interesting to note that this is true across the whole educational spectrum i.e. from early school leavers up to university graduates. Thus in spite of the wide spread feeling that European universities are by now merely producing future unemployed, the situation of their degree holders, or even of their drop-outs, is still incomparably better than that of those who reached

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(1) Le Nouvel Observateur, no. 648 of 11th April 1977.

(2) We are in this paper considering essentially the role of formal education, i.e. schools (general or vocational), universities, etc. - not job based training.

Table 1

UNEMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE : MID YEAR 1967-1976

Member State	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Belgium	12,713	14,762	11,609	7,698	8,790	13,509	14,596	18,564	50,987	69,569
Denmark				1,850	4,072	4,783	4,184	7,435		
Federal Republic of Germany	43,534	20,652	14,491	18,175	29,001	38,573	51,001	158,051	287,373	
France	32,600	49,800	31,500	51,600	72,100	85,300	94,800	123,400	276,400	305,800
Italy	214,762	212,930	217.633	209,608	255,937	270,185	287,963	308,336	369,598	
Netherlands		14,279	9,260	11,638	12,073	28,955	27,130	33,761	62,370	68,614
Great Britain	121,341	119,333	127,593	149,578	230,342	256,755	154,256	174,122	436,226	615,096

The term "young people" implies in most cases the age group 14-16 to 25.

SOURCE : Commission of the European Communities. Directorate General for Social Affairs, doc. V/1228/76/2.

Table 2

UNITED STATES - 1975 -

UNEMPLOYMENT FOR THE 16-19 YEAR AGE-GROUP BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

	Rate of unemployment (%)
Some college attendance	6.5
Completed High school	16.5
Completed 8th grade	36.9

SWEDEN - men 18-24 - 1974 -

UNEMPLOYMENT FOR THE 16-19 YEAR AGE-GROUP BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

	Rate of unemployment (%)
Below secondary education	6.4
Completed secondary education or beyond	5.0

GERMANY - 1974 -

UNEMPLOYED AND ACTIVE POPULATION UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE BY LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION

	Young unemployed %	Young active population %
Not completed compulsory schooling	33.3	13.0
Only compulsory schooling	58.8	54.0
Some secondary schooling	7.9	33.0

Table 2 cont'd :

GERMANY - 1974 - cont'd :

UNEMPLOYED WHO WERE IN GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT BEFORE REDUNDANCY, AND ACTIVE POPULATION UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE BY VOCATIONAL QUALIFICATION LEVEL

	Without vocational training %	Vocational training drop-outs %	With vocational training %
Young unemployed	46.3	24.2	29.5
Young active population	7.0	17.0	76.0

NORWAY - 1975 -

PROPORTION OF YOUNG UNEMPLOYED AND TOTAL POPULATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Young unemployed %	Total population %
Not completed compulsory schooling	9.4	3.8
Completed compulsory schooling	66.5	-
Vocational education	18.5	-
Secondary general education	5.6	

SOURCES :

. United States : US Department of Labor.

. Sweden : Ungdom och Arbete (youth and Work) Ministry of Labour, 1974.

. Germany : K. SCHOBER-GOTTWALD, "Der Weg in der Arbeitslosigkeit". MittAB no. 1, Stuttgart, 1977.

. Norway : The Youth Survey. Directorate for Labour, 1975.

only the lower levels of the educational ladder. In France, for example, the average rate of unemployment among graduates from all types of higher education represented around 2.5 % for 1970 to 1975 while at the same time the average rate for all young people was 8.2 % (1).

Despite this evidence, it would only be a few people who are now led towards the conclusion that the best remedy for youth unemployment is simply "more education" : first, because youth unemployment is increasing even among graduates (whose relative situation remains favourable but is deteriorating in absolute terms) ; second because it is realised that any substantial increase in participation in formal education and its consequent impact on the employment situation constitute (if they do) an unavoidably long term process, while the present situation calls for more or less immediate measures ; and third because of disappointment with various educational reforms intended precisely to adapt the education system to labour market requirements.

Most of the educational measures to cope with the problems of youth employment are, it is suggested, derived from or respond to two hypotheses. The first of these which we might call "technological", assumes that an important gap developed between the system of production (whether of goods or of services) and the education system, the pace of evolution being much slower in the latter than in the former. Or, in other words, the education system and its structure were much more resistant to change than the economic system and its structure. Practically, this assumption implies that education is preparing young people for the jobs of yesterday instead for those of tomorrow created by both fast technological and scientific progress, and by other societal changes. Remedies proposed or implemented relate mainly to the content (curriculum) of education and in particular to its vocational component (2) which, it is said, education at all levels has neglected, in favour of too general or theoretical study. As a consequence, the acquisition of actual vocational

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(1) See Le Monde de l'Education, November 1976, based on an investigation by J. DELORS.

(2) In this sense our "technological hypothesis" relates to O. MAGNUSSEN's "institutional" theory. See p. 43.

or professional skills cannot take place except "on the job" and if job opportunities are restricted, preference will obviously be given to those with some practical training. Career education, the introduction of vocational subjects in secondary education or the professionalisation of higher education are clearly measures aiming at solutions in this direction. To some extent, policies of recurrent education, i.e. those which postulate alternation between periods of study and periods of employment ("stop out/stop in") might constitute another means towards the same objective : to compensate the absence or weakness of vocational training in formal education by participation in ordinary working life.

At least two major criticisms can be made with regard to this hypothesis. The first is related to statistical evidence. As most recent figures show "vocational training is no guarantee against unemployment. As many as 30.5 % of the German unemployed have completed apprenticeship schemes, while 18.5 % of the unemployed teenagers in Norway have some vocational education" (1). Most recent figures in France point in the same direction : while in 1972, 78 % of lower vocational degree holders (Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle) found a job immediately after the end of their schooling, the rate dropped to 64 % in 1976 and there are 9 % unemployed among the secondary technical school certificate holders ("bacheliers techniques"), up to recently a very "safe" type of qualification (2).

Second, the hypothesis that a stronger vocational component in formal education will automatically facilitate employment suffers from both a logical and pragmatic flow : since education is supposed to prepare for jobs of tomorrow and since practical experience has shown the unreliability of manpower forecasting in quantitative as well as qualitative terms, to develop the curricula which will provide for the skills actually needed in the future becomes a most hazardous task.

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(1) O. MAGNUSSEN : *Education and Employment. The problems of Early School-Leavers. Institute of Education, ECE, Amsterdam, 1977, p. 33.*

(2) *Le Nouvel Observateur, op. cit.*

The second hypothesis from which educational measures derive may be called the "equity hypothesis" (1).

Formal education systems have in most cases not succeeded in equalizing opportunity and might have, on the contrary, even contributed to the perpetuation of social inequalities leading, among other things, to very severe unemployment rates among young people from lower social origin. But if this is so, educational measures to cope with youth unemployment must focus essentially on these underprivileged. Certain educational leave policies (e.g. the "150 hours"in Italy), or new patterns of attendance adapted to needs of those employed (evening courses, decentralised teaching facilities) fall under this head.

Again, at least two major questions can be raised here. First, to what extent can educational measures of this sort be inserted and a fortiori spread within the established education system (schools, universities), so as to reach a really wide audience ? And second, will this audience really be composed of those to whom these measures are primarily destined, i.e. those with the greatest educational deficiencies rather than those already motivated ?

On both accounts, doubt may be expressed, even if there are numerous successful experiments across Europe which can and should be recalled.

This rather sceptical account of the potential of the formal education system to cope with the problem of youth employment leads, it is suggested, to two conclusions : the first is obvious and does not need to be stressed here since the present symposium itself is based on it : that the education system alone is a poor tool towards solving the present situation. Only in conjunction with appropriate measures related to labour market and overall social and economic policies can purely educational measures provide a chance of effective solutions. But, even if all these

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(1) See O. MAGNUSSEN's "sociological hypothesis", op. cit. pp. 6-7.

policies and their correct interactions are established it must be assumed - and this is our second conclusion - that a certain "uncoupling" between the education and employment systems is taking place, and that this uncoupling is not necessarily a pathological phenomenon.

In reality, of course, this uncoupling does not and cannot mean the absence of a relationship between education and employment, but it does imply a completely new nature for this relationship, the main factor of which is the "massification" of education at its upper levels.

The concept of uncoupling has, it is suggested, at least two meanings. First of all it implies a certain distancing of education from one of its traditional functions, namely elite formation. If more than a small minority of people reach the upper levels of the formal education systems, than obviously all those who attained these levels cannot enter into elite positions (in terms of financial rewards or social status). However, there is evidence that even in this situation, some institutions or particular parts of the system (e.g. the "grandes écoles" in France or specific fields of study such as medicine) will keep their elite formation function. As a consequence, we might be witnessing a new split, or the widening of an old one, within the education system between, on the one hand, schools and universities or fields of study whose graduates remain relatively untouched by the otherwise widespread "uncoupling" phenomenon and, on the other hand, all other degree or diploma holders (and of course drop-outs) exposed to the widely talked about "dequalification" (or deskilling) process.

The major question for discussion - and for policy action - seems to be the following :

Is this widening gap unavoidable and if not, what are the measures which can help to avoid it, or at least to attenuate it ?

The second meaning of the term "uncoupling" suggests a reasonably frequent disconnection between the content of education or training received and the actual content of the job assumed : a trained mechanic becoming a salesman, an engineer, a bank-employee, etc. To some extent of course, such a disconnection has always existed. It seems however that, under the impact of technological progress, the unreliability of manpower forecasting and of economic fluctuations, it has now taken on much larger proportions leading to both a waste of scarce resources and individual frustration on a large scale.

The most common answers to this phenomenon are of course policies, or demands for policies aiming at an education or training which prepare for a broad range of professions or vocations ("polyvalence") rather than for specific jobs. The curricular implications of such policies are, however, most difficult to establish, especially if the dangers of a new trend towards too general and unsufficiently work-related teaching and learning are to be avoided.

The question submitted for discussion here should thus read as follows :

What are the main principles according to which education and training content and components can be devised so as to constitute an effective preparation for as wide as possible a range of jobs ?

The importance of defining and implementing policies responding to the problems mentioned above is crucial if educational systems are to contribute to the solution of the youth employment problem. But even if such policies are made fully operational, a certain degree of uncoupling between education and employment will remain. This uncoupling will be, it is suggested, accepted by society and especially the young, and will not therefore represent a pathological and explosive phenomenon - but only under certain conditions. It may be that an analogy to the conclusion provided by Jacques DELORS (1) with regard to the new nature of

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(1) See Jacques DELORS's introductory discussion paper, p. 41 below.

work applies also here :

> "Let us imagine, for example, a society where the intrinsic value of education and not the employment (cash) nexus is king or in a less extreme position a society which will take upon itself the task to develop at one and the same time, the intrinsic value of education and education as an article in the employment nexus".

What does such an aim mean in practice ? Most probably the development of a number of new, or the reformulation of some traditional, functions of education : education for leisure, education for quality of life, education for new service occupations not yet widespread in the labour market but corresponding to individual needs and aspirations... and, in any case, a shift away from the presently exclusive "employment qualifying" (or certification) function of education.

THE ROLE OF INDUSTRY AND OVERALL LABOUR MARKET CONSIDERATIONS

by Jacques Delors

Our point of departure is a simple but nonetheless unanimously accepted observation : that the insertion into the labour market of young people and the place they occupy is by no means satisfactory. We ask ourselves what are the reasons for this situation and whether our current solutions are correct.

I - A search for explanatory variables

Even today it is difficult to locate, as well as to weight, all the variables.

The most obvious is the demographic. In some countries, particularly the United States, Canada and France, the working population is growing appreciably each year, by the arrival on the labour market of a younger generation. To this phenomenon are added others : for instance the growth of female activity rate and immigration. These create an imbalance between supply and demand amongst the labour force. Because of it young people often are amongst those facing the greatest difficulties in finding a job. For certain groups, the obstacles they face are especially great : first of all young people leaving school without an acceptable general education or without a vocational qualification ; there are also graduates from higher education in this situation because of their growing numbers compared with the offerings available on the labour market. Hence the economic variable must be considered. Even before the crisis, neither the United States nor Canada were able to create a sufficient number of jobs to employ all those wishing to enter the labour market. Even before the crisis a slow but nevertheless continuous increase in unemployment levels was noticeable in European countries such as Britain

and France, and the recession from 1974 to 1977 has merely increased these difficulties. Nowadays all European countries, with the exception of Sweden, Norway and Austria, have unemployment levels between 4 % and 8 %. Young people and women are amongst the most disadvantaged group : their employment level fluctuates between 45 % and 65 % (depending on the country, with the exception of Germany) of the population seeking employment.

This is not a temporary situation ; it is likely to last. The forecasts of OECD support this view. With a relatively high rate of growth, 5.5 % per year, from 1975 to 1980, the unemployment level will not fall below 4 % in 1980 (compared with 6.5 % in 1975). Thus society today faces a general problem of supreme importance and must ask a very serious question about the future of young people :

How will society develop when the first experience of adult life for one young person in two will be unemployment ?

The debate is therefore opened upon the ways and means by which we may return to full employment. Here it is a question of what we shall call the organisational variable. Is not the production system itself responsible for failing to meet the demands made on the labour market and the supply furnished by young people wishing to work ?

In this context, two facts are particularly salient :

(i) Under the influence of production techniques, mechanisation, automatisation and even computer science, we witness a partial movement of deskilling. It leads to a refusal of certain types of jobs (dull, "dirty" jobs). In some countries the gap is filled by immigrants.

(ii) The development of specific job related qualifications, linked to particular firms or specific levels in the civil service, has consequences for young people : in many cases it results in the employer prefering somebody already employed to fill a post instead of taking on an extra employee.

Hence a fourth variable, the importance of which has been stressed for some years : new features of the labour market. Various factors have brought about increased segmentation and inflexibility in the labour market, which is detrimental to young people who have not yet started a career, and are not benefiting from any legal protection or collective agreements. Moreover they lack work experience - an essential criteria for recruitment.

Three fundamental divisions are emerging in the labour market :

1) Economic and social : which occurs between a "central" market, where wage earners are protected by legislation, by collective bargaining agreements, and by trade union negotiations which cover social security, conditions of employment and promotion wage scales ; and a "peripheral" market less well protected, ill informed and less secure, which has a high percentage of young people.

2) A division at managerial level, between the "internal" labour market organised and run by the employer, in which professional expertise can be taken into account and the conditions of service guaranteed ; and an "external" market where the opportunities are much more restricted. Young people usually start their career in this external market.

3) A social division between the advantaged and disadvantaged. Obviously, young people are to be found in both groups. However, numerically speaking, they are more likely to figure amongst the disadvantaged partly because of the inadequacies in their training or because of its unsuitability from the employer's point of view.

Our analysis would be incomplete and over simple if it did not bear in mind the most complex of variables : the sociological aspect. This revolves around the predominant system of values, amongst young people or perhaps even systems, since our understanding this phenomenon is both partial and still in flux ; on the one hand, one sees a continuation of

traditional attitudes, on the other, the emergence of new life styles. Both of these involve some degree of disagreement about the place which work should occupy in the life of the individual and also on the growing criticism about the very nature of the work involved. These developments emerge with particular force in Canada and United States but they are also spreading in Europe. There are a number of causal factors : a rise in the level of education and hence in aspirations directed towards the world of work ; improvement in overall living conditions, which have made the status of the unemployed less intolerable ; the search after new ways of balancing out the rewards gained from working life and those obtained from life outside work.

Considering the education and work of young people without taking into account these developments, however blurred they be, would be unthinkable.

II - A few long term considerations

Given such a forecast and in view of the present changes, economic, social and psychological, the future is uncertain. What response we make depends on the political preferences and philosophies of all. They will not be the same for those who consider the right to work to be the supreme priority, nor for those ready to question the place that work occupies in society, or who will accept a certain lessening of its importance. Even if we can leave aside this major question, in order to form an immediate and short term perspective, we must address ourselves to four current approaches in research which may provide a solution.

1) Policies for improving work conditions

These policies are aimed at replying to the hopes of democracy in the work place, but also to the criticism about work itself, made by young people.

Can we look forward to a closer agreement between the claims of the latter and the jobs offered by both public and private sector employers ? What are the crucial elements in this area :

- change in work content,
- improvement in the social and hierarchical links at the place of work,
- flexible working day (on a day, weekly, yearly and lifetime basis),
- the possibilities of changing jobs voluntarily, so as to vary one's occupations and thus develop one's personality ?

2) *Towards a new employment policy based on both the supply and the demand of work*

Historically, the main aim of employment policies involved adjusting the supply to the demand of labour. This was carried out by diffusing information, placement and training programmes, and mobility allowances. Whilst useful, these are limited. They must be backed up by action in two areas :

- the first, aimed at work sharing between all applicants. The effect will be to reduce the length of time spent working, and it can only be introduced with considerable caution ;

- the second, aimed at encouraging employers to create jobs in sufficient number and to recruit those who hitherto have failed to enter the central market - particularly young people.

We have already carried out some experiments in this latter field, but to fully appreciate the avenues they open, it will be necessary to evaluate them.

3) *Towards a more systematic organisation of the transition period from school to work*

Given the growing and diversifying aspirations of young people faced by

an over rigid labour market, it is important to review that period lying across the last years in school and the beginning of work life.

Proposals have already been made by a group of experts, presided over by Clark KERR (1). Three of this report's recommendations are worth mentioning :

a) a basic education for all up to 16, with compensatory financing and pedagogical policies for disadvantaged groups as an integral feature throughout this period ;

b) a wider range of options for young people in the 16-20 age group, including public programmes of social action and new combinations of school and work, of higher education and social and military service ;

c) a system of educational drawing rights, whereby all young people at the age of, say, 16 would have a certain education capital on which they could draw according to the career pattern they adopt.

Here again, limited experiments are currently taking place in a number of countries. Can we draw up a balance sheet of successes or failures ? Rather is it not better, if we are to break out of the limitations they have shown, to go further still and take an overall and coordinated view ?

4) Other opportunities offered by recurrent education

This last remark leads on naturally to this problem. How far is a key to the future contained in a new definition of the relationship between the education system and the pattern of work ? This is the goal of recurrent education. It aims to offer to each the opportunity, throughout his life of combining both education and work. We have, nevertheless, to define the various contents of recurrent education in the light of the aspirations of individuals and the demands of the world of work.

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(1) Clark KERR : Education and working life in modern society, OECD, Paris, 1975.

III - Conclusion

To sum up, we must not forget that central question which we left aside earlier : the place of work in society. It is important to ask ourselves whether at the end of day we should bring it up again if only to define more precisely what we expect from recurrent education.

Let us imagine, for example, a society where the intrinsic value of labour and not the cash nexus is king, or in a less extreme position a society which will take upon itself the task to develop at one and the same time, the intrinsic value of labour, and labour as an article in the cash nexus.

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF 16-19 YEAR OLD YOUNG PEOPLE WITH ONLY COMPULSORY EDUCATION OR LESS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY MEASURES

by Olav Magnussen

In most industrialised countries young school-leavers aged 16-19 represent a much larger proportion of the unemployed than their proportion of the active population. In some countries almost half of all unemployed are young people. This is why policies to deal directly with the problem of youth unemployment are being discussed, and are taking shape. In this paper we shall not attempt an evaluation of the various policies or policy-experiments, but rather confront some theories of youth unemployment with the available evidence on its characteristics in order to draw some salient implications for policy measures.

One theory, which we shall call the institutional theory, attributes some high teen-age unemployment to the content of education in compulsory schools (which in the United States would also include high school). Education in compulsory schools has increasingly been directed towards preparing pupils for further study. This is of course not unexpected as the preponderant majority in most countries continue to some form of secondary education. But in preparing the majority for continued schooling, the fairly large minority who still leave school at the end of compulsory schooling, have become increasingly badly equipped to face the practical tasks of working life, since their educational needs are largely neglected. Thus, the education received, particularly in the upper section of the compulsory school is seen as largely irrelevant by early school-leavers. The fact that they then become unemployed is a result of the insufficient preparation for working life.

But this theory is clearly not enough, for it does not explain why some pupils leave school early and some continue. Additional explanations are therefore needed. Social scientists have long been aware of th role of

schooling in the process of social selection, where the off-spring of lower social strata leave school early, partly because the average level of cognitive ability seems to be lower in this group than amongst those from higher social strata, partly because the values of the school conflict with their own, and finally because low income families often need the income of an additional worker in the family. Few social relationships are so well documented as social selection in schools, and where evidence on personal attitudes is available, early school-leavers give as a major reason for leaving school the fact that they were tired of schooling, they felt it was irrelevant and did not motivate them, and that they needed to earn money.

The very high unemployment rate in itself as well as the evidence provided by employers, career officers and employment agencies, point to the lack of a suitable education as a major reason for high school-leaver unemployment, and, seen in combination, both of the theories presented above would seem to fit the facts well.

But youth unemployment must also have an economic explanation, for even if the theory of social selection and the institutional theory fit the facts, they are again clearly not sufficient, for the employment of a group is also a question of the cost of its labour relative to other groups. Clearly if the cost to an employer of employing an early school-leaver was sufficiently low he would still be employed regardless of his social origin or his largely irrelevant education. And even if his background was favourable, he might choose not to work for a while if wages were considered too low, or preferences for other types of jobs than those offered were particularly strong.

One economic explanation takes as its point of departure that most of the training immediately useful to firms takes place within them, in other words that the cost of training is a major determinant of employment. The lower the training costs, the higher the probability of becoming employed. There is some reason to believe that the lower the training costs in general,

the higher the level of formal education, which means that at a given point in time, relatively more people with a higher level of education will be employed, than those with a lower level of education. Thus the highest level of unemployment predicted would be among early school-leavers since this group on the average could be expected to have the highest training costs.

Another economic explanation emphasises the fact that adults or those with more formal education also have more on-the-job training, which represents a capital investment for the firm. Loss of employment for people with considerable on-the-job training will often mean a capital loss to the firm, since there is no guarantee that these people will return to it. Firms will therefore seek to stabilise employment possibilities for people with on-the-job training. In contrast, young school-leavers represent no capital for firms ; they are in other words the last to become employed due to high training costs, and the first to be sacked due to lack of training. In an important sense therefore the economics of youth unemployment points to a sort of vicious circle : early school-leavers have difficulties in obtaining employment because they lack relevant training, yet once employed they may still easily loose their job because their high training costs do not motivate firms to provide them with training.

The implications of the economics of youth unemployment mentioned above fit the facts well in all of the countries we have considered. The level of unemployment is strongly related to the level of education. Youth employment is much more unstable than adult employment, and young people with the lowest level of education are often deprived of all training possibilities in the jobs which they may obtain.

To sum up : the explanatory factors we have considered so far in attempting to account for the characteristics of youth unemployment, are, so far as we are able to judge, supported by available data. Even if we are still some way from a fully comprehensive picture of youth unemployment, the facts we have been able to collect and the explanations offered have clear

implications for policy. A policy to reduce youth unemployment must deal with the content of the educational process, counter the effects of social selection, and consist of economic measures motivating firms to employ more young people in jobs where they are given training.

If we consider first the implications for the educational process, we shall probably be forced to consider solutions which to some extent take us outside the confines of formal schooling. The point is that if occupational learning is what early school-leavers lack most of all, preparation for working life can never be efficiently nor realistically organised as a part of formal schooling. Occupational learning is most efficiently carried out where work is done, i.e. in public and private enterprises. And even if it were possible to organise occupational training within schools, it would by necessity be forced to be general, and therefore in reality not occupational training since it would be impossible to forecast the training needs of the various firms. Occupational training and training for specific skills should so far as possible be organised within firms, while all types of general education and training would be most efficiently undertaken within some kind of formal schooling.

Thus, we foresee a scheme where separate activities, work and formal schooling are combined to form one educational activity, even within the period of compulsory education. Such a reform must be planned very carefully and would take a long time to implement, for not only would it break with ordinary practice in compulsory education, but the economic institutions of society would have to become part of the educational system in a much more direct way than before. And, to a certain extent it would also run counter to one of the basic premises of educational policy in most countries, the equalizing of access to formal schooling.

As an alternative to the reform of the educational process, or in combination with such a reform, we shall need programmes undertaken after schooling to initiate early school-leavers to the world of work. Such a scheme would probably have all or some of the following characteristics :

1) an introduction period, where school-leavers are introduced to general aspects of the work situation ;

2) work combined with training of at least one years' duration. The best solutions would be to organise such a programme within private or public firms and institutions ;

3) it is likely to be essential for motivations to participate, that the trainees be paid a "fair" wage. This would probably mean public subsidies to those private firms participating in the programme.

To be successful such a programme could need the involvement of many institutions including the labour authorities, schools, social workers, trade unions and business associations.

Another policy area related both to the contents of education as well as the results of social selection, would include all measures which can be put under the heading : occupational information. This would not only involve passive information about occupations, wages, working conditions, educational requirements, etc., but also active guidance where potential school-leavers would be identified and the relevant institutions outside schools notified, a long time before potential school-leavers actually left school.

A fairly large proportion of pupils about to leave compulsory school are undecided about whether to do so completely, or to continue their education. As suggested above, the reason for this may be economic, and a useful measure to counter the social selection process may therefore be to extend the possibilities of obtaining scholarships on social grounds to all levels of secondary education. Another measure which could be useful in this context would be all kinds of arrangement whereby secondary education and work could be combined, in such a way that an individual could work and earn some money, while at the same time obtaining more education.

The economic policy measures specifically designed to cope with youth unemployment, are of two types :

1) short-term job-creating programmes ;

2) measures to increase the supply of jobs where training can be provided for early school-leavers.

In the long run it is the latter which will be the more important. The major proportion of such jobs must be created in the private sector, and the most powerful policy-instrument available to induce firms to increase their supply of training is probably some form of collective financing. We have argued already that early school-leavers may be especially costly to train, and that firms will therefore require subsidies to cover some of their costs. But there is an additional reason for collective financing, particularly relevant in the case of early school-leavers. Most training schemes within firms cannot avoid producing transferable skills. Young people as a group, especially those with a low level of education, have a very high rate of turn-over. Most firms are therefore reluctant to provide training for fear that they might lose their investment expenses. Instead they attempt to hire skilled labour in the labour market, in order to avoid training costs. Thus, the final effect is that less training is produced than is socially desirable, especially with regard to early school-leavers. More would be forthcoming if a part of the cost was borne collectively. The problem of some firms losing their training expenses would then be avoided.

It is likely however that there is a group among early school-leavers who are unable, for social, psychic or physical reasons to function in an ordinary work place and whom the policy measures mentioned above would not reach. For these people work places sheltered from the ordinary economic and social requirements should be available.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that the most essential policy measure to reduce youth unemployment is to pursue an overall economic policy of full employment, without which it would be an almost impossible task to implement successfully the other policy measures described in this paper.

AN ALTERNATIVE FORM OF POST 16 EDUCATION AND TRAINING

by David Moore

Given its introductory function, this paper must, at times, both generalise and also be brief to the point of being cryptic. Perhaps the first generalisation is that members of the conference will be familiar with the problems of education and work facing young people of 16 plus and that these do not need repeating at this stage, which gives both space and time to consider a development which may at least ease some of these problems if not solve them all.

Briefly, this development arises from the proposition that the education and training of all sectors of the 16 plus age group should be removed from the school system. This means first of all that school regulations should cease to apply to pupils at 16 years of age and that they should transfer to an institution providing only for students of 16 plus ; indeed at a later point I shall elaborate on the need for these institutions to cater for the entire age range after 16.

The proposition secondly suggests that the education and training of the age group, regardless of academic ability shall largely take place in the same type of institution. In effect this would mean that the education and training of the 16 plus age group would take place in truly comprehensive multi-purpose all age institutions. Before going on to outline the advantages of such a system it must be made clear that I am not proposing that the traditional university or polytechnic should become such all purpose extended institutions, but rather that they should be based on what in the United Kingdom are known as Further Education or Technical Colleges or perhaps in the United States on the Community (2 year) Colleges.

Below are listed some of the possible advantages of a single system of

comprehensive education for the 16-19 age group. I have not tried to separate those of value to the pupil/student from those related to society at large, as they often seem to coincide.

1) An organisational advantage of inducing a break at 16 is that the size of secondary schools feeding the comprehensive College need not be as large as a school catering for the 11-18 age range. I am aware that this may be more relevant to the United Kingdom than to the rest of Europe or the United States, nevertheless it does allow a structure for the 11/12-16 age group which produces manageable schools which can be small enough to recognise the dignity of individual pupils.

2) A "cut off" at 16 also allows the 14/15/16 year age group the opportunities for personal development brought about by being at the top of a school structure rather than in the middle. Experience in the United Kingdom has shown that the age group, given the great maturity and sophistication of recent years, can develop responsible attitudes and contribute to the well being of a school. It also gives those leaving finally at 16 the opportunity to operate at senior level in an educational institution.

3) Inevitably a "school" must apply certain regulations and systems to protect younger children which inevitably chafe and inhibit the young adult of 16 plus and a major advantage of the comprehensive college is that this age group can be treated as responsible young adults. Perhaps it is worth saying that while in the United Kingdom this age group in 11-18 school were expected to learn social responsibility by exercising discipline or leadership over younger children, in a comprehensive college they can do so both by caring for the disadvantaged in the community and by exercising their rights, responsibilities and autonomy in the more mature and democratic atmosphere of the College. In this way more young people may be inclined to stay on or return to full time or part time education.

4) A further advantage is that a clean break at 16 for the pupil presents an opportunity to "begin again" in an atmosphere un-influenced by impressions of previous performance by the pupil or perceptions by staff.

5) A similar advantage to the pupil is that by ensuring a move at 16 to a comprehensive College there is no need to make an "artificial" choice between institutions at 16 and they can concentrate on choosing the most appropriate course for themselves rather than being distracted by doubtful considerations of the academic respectability or social status of one institution rather than another. In fact it can help combat both traditional and inverse academic snobbery amongst parents who seek to influence their children's career.

6) Of course the preceding point also links naturally with the assumption that such institutions may help reduce social and academic divisiveness which often has debilitating effects in government, community and industry. After all such a College presents a common experience in young adulthood both for future managers and workers.

7) Such a system also makes it easier for young people of 16 or 17 to transfer between courses and this not only removes some tension from the choice at 16, but helps to avoid wastage which might occur from unwillingness to transfer between institutions rather than simply from one option to another in the same College.

8) Of course a comprehensive institution for post sixteen year olds has characteristics which are simultaneously attractive to both student and society. This is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that the range of course and subject options can be considerable in such a situation and allow a greater mix of subjects. In examples currently operating in the United Kingdom it is possible to extend the curricular

in ways which have considerable impact on the education and career development of students. At the same time this presents a more economic proposition for society than a variety of institutions offering a limited and sometimes duplicated range of options sometimes to very small and uneconomic groups. This also applies to such facilities as sports centres, libraries, etc.

9) Arising out of 8) above, is also the fact that such a College allows for the bringing together of high powered teams of teaching staff who may generate a very lively atmosphere resulting in enhanced student interest and results.

10) Mention has already been made of the personal developmental advantages accruing to young adults who are in an all age (post 16) College and not least of these is the fact that if such a College is also serving other age ranges and needs across the community, it will probably be heavily involved with a number of sectors ranging from the disadvantaged to senior management in local industry. If it does offer technical as well as academic education its links with the world of industry will be both strong and relevant. All of this will have an impact upon the 16-19 year old student as well as his more narrowly traditional and academic teacher. Thus the young adult is perhaps better able to understand the problems of society as well as being able to make a better career choice. In effect, such an institution becomes a link between school and the world of work and higher education offering an opportunity for personal diagnosis and development, while still in the home environment.

11) Finally the existence of an institution which has an intermediate role in the route to higher education also has other possible advantages in that it is more likely to encourage some young people to take a temporary break in education at 16 for diagnostic or developmental purposes. Similarly it is more likely to encourage those who need to return for reasons of structural employment or technological redundancy.

The above is a relatively brief and undetailed list of possible advantages and no doubt there are more which can be brought forward as indeed there are some points against the case which will no doubt arise in discussion. It is probably also true to say that some of the advantages mentioned are more pertinent to the situation in Britain than in Europe or elsewhere.

There is a good deal of illustrative detail and supporting evidence from recent British developments involving some twelve Colleges ; and, similarly there are one or two lesser moves in this direction to be reported from the United States where minority, disadvantaged or potentially delinquent groups are being allowed to transfer from high school to Community College. Of course this is not the complete solution in that while comprehensive Colleges may cater for say 60 % - 65 % of the age group in full or part time education or training, there remains that large minority who are either unemployed or in jobs which do not require vocational training. This paper is not the place to go into detailed proposals for that group but the comprehensive College could certainly have a pertinent role in organising or contributing to education and career counselling, community service and job creation programmes and the development of specially relevant curriculum for the new system such as Unified Vocational Preparation now being piloted in the United Kingdom.

Of course the development of 16-19 year old education and training within a system of comprehensive colleges would require a major change of attitude both within school and college systems of education. Schools in the United Kingdom are certainly not cheerful at the thought of loosing their 6th forms and indeed some Colleges resent the idea of being invaded by "academics". However pilot schemes in the United Kingdom have demonstrated that the difficulties can be overcome to the satisfaction of most of the parties involved in such a reorganisation.

A REPORT ON THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE FERE-EN-TARDENOIS SYMPOSIUM

by Stuart Maclure

It seems to me that a simple pattern to a conference starts from basic facts and from a basic hypothesis. The basic facts of this conference are about the employment of young people. The pattern seems to be developing not universally the same, but with certain similarities : a rising underlying trend of unemployment, rising higher at the bottom of the trade cycle each time, and falling a little less each time at the high point. In some countries, but not in all, there is a rising proportion of young people under 25 years of age. One difference was pointed out between the United States and some of the European countries in that the U.S.A. unemployment figure has always been relatively high and relatively higher than the unemployment rate generally ; in some European countries this seems to be a new phenomenon.

Only a few years ago youth unemployment moved to a higher percentage than adult unemployment. Various explanations for this were set out in some of the conference papers. J. DELORS, for example, enumerates some such as the demographic change, changes in the economics of industry, the cost of labour, job protection and trade union activity. All of this has made the employment of people in the middle age ranges more secure and therefore concentrates all the adjustment upon the young.

There have been the changes which stem from organisational change, from the introduction of technology and the division of labour. A range of changes which are, perhaps, the most interesting and the most illusive are changes of attitudes towards work and the place of work in modern life. It seems to me that these interesting and illusive changes are just the thing to keep sociologists busy for a long time. But they possibly

may indicate the shape of things to come in a way which is not necessarily answerable to the kind of changes in the policy which we have been talking about.

So the hypothesis is opposed to the fact. The hypothesis is that this phenomenon of high youth unemployment is not just a temporary aberration caused by a recession, following the most sustained and extensive period of growth and wealth that the world has ever known, if Daniel BELL's rather grandiose phrase is to be believed. From 1940 to 1970 we saw a period of phenomenal economic growth and prosperity and what we have seen developing is really the problem of the tail end of that period of enormous prosperity.

The hypothesis goes on to assume that the age of admission to the primary labour market is rising and continuing to rise, and that the European experience is, broadly speaking, following that of the United States. Therefore new policies are needed in both employment and in education to meet this new and changing situation.

The first question I would like to put, as opposed to a summary, is simply to ask if this is still a hypothesis or is this something we actually have reason to believe is a provable fact. Are these changes simply the result of forces in society and the economy which are present and identifiable and continuing or are they structural changes which could be reversible by action within the economy, within the industrial organisation, and in other ways ?

Education and Employment

At the first discussion on the question of education we spent a rather long time disposing of the question of what the relationship was between education and the number of jobs available, whereas in fact our basic hypothesis really assumed that the number of jobs was mainly influenced

by economic and organisational factors, and that education could help people get into jobs. As one of us said, education could become a method of organising the market competition for jobs, but it cannot actually create jobs.

I think, paradoxically, as can be seen in some of the countries represented at the Conference, education actually can do more through omission or through error to disqualify people for employment than it can do to insure them jobs when the level of employment is low. It seems to me that the sort of problem which we heard about initially is the problem of education disqualifying people for jobs, but in other countries it might be that education identifies the victims that are going to be disqualified for jobs.

So the argument revolves around a number of concepts :

(i) the relevance of specific forms of education to specific forms of employment ;

(ii) the vocational character of higher education for the professions (medicine, the law, and engineering, for example) which in fact raise relatively little difficulty in terms of higher vocational education ;

(iii) the vocational relevance of higher education as an intellectual preparation for other kinds of higher professional educational training.

Vocational Education

Then there is a whole series of problems which revolve around other levels of vocational education oriented towards skilled industrial employment with or without apprenticeship and general education, not directed towards any particular fields of employment, leading to entry into employment with limited training. In all this, for me at any rate,

there is a huge problem in that there is no obvious vocational education required for a large number of the jobs to be performed in a modern society. In our country we know that although we have a poor industrial training system, it is nevertheless true that a third of the people who leave school go into jobs which are deemed by employers to require less than eight weeks of training.

You come back to the argument whether in those cases, as the employers themselves often say, the principal forms of vocational education needed are the basic skills of literacy, numeracy, and communication. Once you have redefined vocational education in such basic skill terms, the meaning of the term "vocational education" ceases to exist, and you are back in some very deep conceptual problems. For me, at any rate, vocational education consists of perhaps 25 or 30 percent of the people who currently leave our school systems. Some of these questions of definition arise from semantic difficulties in the English language, which we all may labour under because of the loose, inconsistent way in which we use the word education and the word training. The Anglo-Saxons should apologise to those with more precise languages for any difficulty which this has caused.

Counselling

One area that there seemed to be a consensus about throughout the discussion was the need for really comprehensive systems of counselling and work experience. I think there is underlying this, certainly in education systems, a general anxiety about the professional role of a counsellor and his influence over the life chances of the boys and girls he works with. What, if any, should be his link with public policy and manpower policies and his stance vis-à-vis the pupil, the parent, the local industry, the economic policy of the state, and so on. Presumably the answer, or the defence, is that it is to be found in the

traditional concept of professional responsibility. But it is, in fact, a responsibility very undeveloped because the techniques are undeveloped.

Basic Skills

Another consensus was clearly about the importance of basic skills and the profound difficulty all educational systems are experiencing in actually teaching the basic skills. Something which is in the back of my mind, particularly at a meeting of this kind which consists of people who largely are not working in schools, is that there tends to be an assumption that teachers are in some way acting through malice in deliberately preventing people from learning the basic skills. In my experience this is not, in fact, wholly true. I think one should be cautious. What in fact is my experience or understanding is that for as long as anyone can remember, and certainly as long as the problem of the city and the problems of the disadvantaged are uppermost in people's minds, there has been one innovation after another in the educational field, many of which have been designed to improve the quality of learning the basic skills. These have ranged from experiments designed to increase the motivation of the students to other experiments designed to increase the neurosis of the teachers. I do not think that any of these have been successful, so I do not think there is a golden method waiting to be discovered. What there is, is an increasingly difficult problem of the cities and of the environment in which education takes place. We would be fooling ourselves to think that there is any recommendation to be made that is going to equip everybody with the basic skills when they leave school.

Early School Leavers

This question leads straight into a consideration of early school leavers,

one of the vulnerable groups in employment terms, perhaps 20 to 30 percent of the whole. There was some discussion about the difference of definition as to an early school leaver between Europe and the United States because of the differences of schooling patterns. Early school leavers clearly overlap and embrace and intersect with many different groups from low income families to ethnic minorities ; none of these groups are exclusive.

Some among us identified the failure of schools to meet the needs of these people due to the concentration of effort on the needs of different groups within schools, especially the groups of people who were going on to post-secondary or upper-secondary education. This may be true. Then again there are many schools, certainly in Europe, where very few people go on to further education. I don't think you could accuse those schools of actually concentrating their efforts on an on-going group, but they are not, in fact, notably more successful in dealing with the problems of the inner group.

Some participants wanted a much wider variety of experience both inside and outside the school to provide learning opportunities of a new kind. They were thinking in terms of a multidimensional system, one major part of which would be that we would open up the school to the political process and reflect the parental demands, wishes and needs and the excitements and interests on what happened inside the school. This would mean breaking down the barrier between the home and the school and actually bringing to bear the influence of the parents on the internal organisation, curriculum, and so on, of the school itself.

I think this identifies one of the long-standing threats which is a sort of hostility towards schools as they are, and a belief that the parents can somehow change them. The second task was to devise new forms of work experience and work training which would fit into this period of the basic compulsory school.

Great importance was attributed to mastery of the basic skills, and to

ways of insuring that this was taking place. Specific social policies were sought to eliminate or compensate for them, meet the costs of doing so, and to differentiate between different groups of people in need.

By implication these participants rejected the idea of lowering the school-leaving age, believing that the most vulnerable in the society had need of more education, but only provided it was the kind of education tailored to their needs. Again, there are various problems attached to this concept of tailoring education to the needs of a disadvantaged group. How clearly can you define such a group and therefore meet its specific needs, without in fact cutting them off from the rest, labelling them, and creating more problems ? Certainly in educational systems which are busily engaged in trying to turn themselves into comprehensive systems - no longer separated and differentiated systems - there are almost dogmatic objections to trying to identify a particular group and tailoring a particular curriculum for them. When there is talk of packages tailored for particular groups and individuals within those groups there are enormous problems because of other social values being expressed in education systems which may be in conflict with those concerned specifically with the needs of the disadvantaged.

The point was also made that it was important to supplement work experience with job creation and to use public subsidies to lower the cost of employment, but that these labour market policies alone provided no universal solution without similar concentration on educational policies. I think I am right in saying that they deplored job creation without training. This comes back to the point that I made earlier on, that if there is not any logical training for many kinds of jobs, what kind of job creation can you have ?

Secondary School Leavers/Post-Secondary Students

Other participants concentrated on secondary school leavers and post-

secondary students, pursuing the idea of a new mix of educational training, service, and employment opportunities, spanning the period following the compulsory school.

They argued for an institutional break at sixteen, moving from compulsory school to a post-school kind of college, with a number of functions, upper-secondary education of a traditional kind, then full and part-time vocational education for people about to go into employment or already in employment, adult education, and activities for the community as a whole. It would be a comprehensive institution in every sense of the word. They wanted planned work experience and careers diagnosis and guidance before the end of compulsory school, that is between the ages of 14 and 16. They, too, spoke of opening the school up to the community.

They did not believe that schools could provide 16 year olds with a marketable skill, but they talked about a general quality of marketability, a fine distinction, but an important one. A societal obligation to insure work/education training service for a five-year period after leaving school was sought, but everyone insisted on the absence of any form of compulsion. Some argued that the size of any national youth service should be limited by demand and should not be heavily promoted.

They saw various components of this societal guarantee or assurance of alternative activities. The components were traditional education, vocational education with emphasis on a broad range of versatile skills, but not excluding the possibility that some people might actually learn through developing mastery and skill in a particular direction, to provide the basis for something broader. They had in mind combinations of work and education, such as employment with day release to educational institutions for particular parts of the vocational training. They saw a pattern of job creation and work experience creation, which can broadly be called the Swedish approach, with financial incentives

to encourage employers in the private sector, coupled with various kinds of protective administrative arrangements to prevent such policies from being abused. You would have financial incentives both in the private sector and in the public sector. You would have policies on the creation of jobs and also on the creation of a public programme of jobs arising from community service in one form or another. This might include a national voluntary youth service, dependent upon demand.

Many conference participants indicated that their countries already had elements of this. What really came out of the discussion was how these things can be pulled together in some way to form the expanded basis of resources to meet future needs. Supposing that the hypothesis is justified, this is going to be a growing problem.

Created Jobs

One major issue which arose, was the question of where an adequate number of such created jobs can be found in the public sector and in service. Willard WIRTZ produced his concept of the redefinition of Gross National Product, or rather an acknowledgement that there are a large number of jobs not now being done within the cash nexus. Furthermore, he saw the need to reorganise such jobs and to recognise their value, so that this kind of work can actually be provided, and the opportunity to perform these valuable works can be found by public and private employers. It looked very much as if there would be no other way of creating an adequate range of jobs except through some large-scale institutional development. That obviously again raises huge political problems. It moreover involves the question of whether people are actually disposed to taking some of the increments of economic growth in the form of better services, or whether they still prefer material goods and the opportunity for more money rather than more services.

Another aspect of the scheme, as I understood it, was a major development of the counselling function. There was talk of administration based on the community work of education councils, with representatives of trade unions, employers, and local and central government. Various other details were worked on, but the important aspect that was envisaged was a highly decentralised scheme with a national framework and presumably national financing probably coming from many different sources.

Some participants were clearly anxious, within the whole framework of this discussion, about the risk of creating or perpetuating a dependent status of youth. There was considerable discussion as to how far you could make the guarantee, create the jobs, create the range of activities which are needed (assuming that a large number of employment positions were missing for those young people) without creating a kind of limbo world for young people in what was otherwise called the secondary labour market. The need was accepted to see, as it were, three tracts through the 16 to 21 period : traditional education ; traditional employment ; and then the range of guaranteed or assured alternatives.

But there was also a disposition to find ways of maximizing those schemes which related to the community across the board and which did not concentrate specifically on the youth age group. Such schemes would have incorporated into them attempts to increase opportunities to adult release, and so on. There were suspicions, I think, of a national service scheme confined to youth alone, but the need for subsidised and created jobs was clearly accepted. Some participants set this against the pattern of recurrent education with some form of drawing rights or guaranteed assistance to enable people to return to education in appropriate stages in future life.

They also made a distinction between two different approaches to higher education. One approach saw higher education as a function for differentiating and certifying people with regard to employment and selection

for élite positions. The other saw it as an age free service, more responsive perhaps to consumer needs than to either the internal needs of higher educational institutions or assumptions about employment.

Finally, they recognised the danger inherent in some of the more exaggerated proposals for state intervention, that by placing new burdens on employment and on employers the cost of labour itself might be generally raised, with consequential loss of employment, as already discussed.

Before I stop, let me bring the discussion back to the field of employment. Something which I think we must all be conscious of is that we lacked amongst our participants any card carrying employers, as you might say. We have no trade unionists, we have no employers, and I think it is particularly important to consider the employment trends which have been noted, and to ask once again how far these are reversible, not just by subsidies and so on, but by conscious and deliberate policy. This returns us to J. DELORS's point about the sociological change which is going on in the nature of work and in the nature of the human experiences which work offers to people. We haven't discussed at all the questions of what in the work place there might be which would be relevant to this. Except in a negative sense we have only considered the changes in the division of labour which actually eliminates opportunities for young people.

What about the whole job enrichment idea, which we all associate with Volvo but we do not know if anything has really come out of it ? For that matter, what about the various cooperatives which are getting a lot of public attention at the moment ? Two or three well known cooperatives have been set up in England, largely in most unfavourable circumstances in companies which are on their last legs and have had an infusion of public money in the form of a cooperative. Nevertheless, a whole range of considerations arise about what conscious methods can be adopted to

change or diversify the forms of industrial production, and therefore the relationship of education to the division of labour.

Finally, just one minor observation, which is that so much of what we have discussed assumes much greater intervention by governments. Perhaps this is purely a British observation, that having seen what a mess governments make when they intervene in most aspects of our affairs, it is not encouraging to think that in this area we are going to be dependent heavily on intervention. After all, it was the Economist that said of Mr. HEALEY, the English Minister of Finance, that he threw himself to the ground and missed.

Annex I

Some statistical Data on Youth Unemployment in countries of the European Communities (*)

(*) *Table I concerns four countries of the EEC and eight other countries.*

Table I

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1960-1977

								1976				1977	
		1960	1965	1970	1973	1975	1976	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2
Australia		..	1.7	2.5	3.8	(8.9)	9.0	10.1	8.5	9.2	9.2	11.6	10.7
Austria	(e)	..	..	1.4	1.4	1.4	(1.4)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Canada	(h)	10.6	6.3	10.3	9.7	12.2	12.5	12.7	12.7	13.3	12.2	14.6	14.5
Finland	(i)	..	(2.3)	3.0	4.5	4.3	(8.3)	7.8	8.9	8.4	9.2	13.2	14.0
France		1.6(b)	..	1.5	2.9	7.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Germany	(g)	0.7	0.2	0.3	1.0	5.8	(5.2)	..	..	4.5	..	..	..
Italy	(c)	3.3	8.7	10.2	12.6	12.8	(14.4)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Japan		1.4	..	1.9	2.2	3.0	3.1	3.7	3.3	3.0	3.0	3.9	3.5
Spain		1.8(a)	..	2.3	6.7	10.5	12.5	..	..	11.7	12.5	12.6	12.6
Sweden	(d)	..	2.6	2.8	5.3	3.6	3.6	4.3	3.3	3.8	3.7	4.5	3.4
United Kingdom	(f,j)	(1.1)	1.2	2.7	(2.9)	(7.4)	(13.1)	9.2	..	12.1	..	10.1	13.6
United States	(d)	10.0	9.1	9.9	9.8	15.2	14.0	15.4	13.9	13.4	12.0	14.8	13.2

(a) 1967.
(b) 1962.
(c) Rate for 14-24 year olds.
(d) Rate for 16-24 year olds.
(e) Youth aged less than 30, labour force aged 14-29 for the years 1960-73 and 15-29 for years 1975-76.
(f) Youth aged less than 25, labour force aged 16-24.
(g) Youth aged less than 25, labour force aged 15-24. Figures for 1960 and 1965 refer to 1958 and 1964 respectively.
(h) Revised series from 1975; 1975 rate for the old series was 12.7.
(i) Revised series from 1976.
(j) Rate for Great Britain. Quartely data are not strictly comparable with annual rates. The figure for the second quarter of 1977 refers to July.
.. Not available.
Figures in parentheses are OECD estimates.

SOURCES : OECD, Labour Force Statistics, Quartely Supplement, various issues ; OECD Statistics Service and national sources. For France, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom, rates for the 1960's are not consistent with those for later years, (as appearing in Document YU (77)2 prepared for a "High Level Conference on Youth Unemployment", held at OECD headquarters, December 1977).

Table II

PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED 1967-1976 (IN %)

Member State	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Belgium	16.3	15.5	15.4	11.9	14.0	17.2	17.7	20.7	31.5	32.3
Denmark					21.5	24.6	26.7	22.6		
Federal Republic of Germany	12.8	11.8	14.4	18.7	19.8	19.8	23.3	28.4	28.6	
France	19.4	20.5	16.3	23.1	25.0	25.6	28.8	32.6	37.4	37.6
Italy	22.8	24.6	26.8	26.5	26.4	27.3	30.1	32.6	34.1	
Netherlands		22.8	26.2	37.7	26.8	31.7	28.7	30.8	36.0	36.3
Great Britain	25.9	23.8	25.5	27.3	31.1	31.7	27.5	30.4	41.9	43.9
Weighted average	21.3	22.2	24.0	25.5	27.0	27.7	28.1	30.7	35.3	

SOURCE : Commission of the European Communities. Directorate General for Social Affairs, doc. V/1228/76/2.

Table III

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER 25

Member State	Date	Total	%	3 months	%	3-6 months	%	6-12 months	%	12 months +	%
Belgium	30.6.74	18.564	100	7.824	42	3.403	18	4.239	23	3.098	17
	30.6.75	50.987	100	19.323	38	11.596	23	13.621	27	6.447	12
	30.6.76	69.569	100	18.105	26	11.673	17	21.777	31	18.014	26
Federal Republic of Germany	30.5.74	105.459	100	64.576	61	26.786	26	12.879	12	1.218	1
	30.5.75	253.711	100	124.454	49	69.103	27	52.935	21	7.219	3
	30.5.76	239.625	100	108.876	45	53.824	23	57.357	24	19.568	8
France	30.6.74	123.400	100	75.900	62	23.400	19	19.800	16	4.300	3
	30.6.75	276.400	100	153.400	56	57.700	21	56.000	20	9.300	3
Netherlands	30.8.74	52.005	100	38.538	74	7.137	14	4.453	8	1.877	4
	30.8.75	84.742	100	51.095	60	15.390	18	13.568	16	4.689	6
	30.8.76	94.887	100	55.372	58	14.788	16	15.041	16	9.686	10
Great Britain	8.7.74	174.122	100	138.722	80	17.943	10	11.387	7	6.070	3
	14.7.75	436.226	100	333.982	76	56.361	13	33.868	8	12.015	3
	8.7.76	615.095	100	424.313	69	79.780	13	75.704	12	35.300	6

SOURCE : Commission of the European Communities. Directorate General for Social Affairs, doc. V/1228/76/2.

Table IV

PROPORTION OF FEMALES AMONG THE YOUNG UNEMPLOYED 1967-1976 (IN %)

Member State	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Belgium	47	48	69	75	68	57	72	77	63	68
Denmark					33	26	21	33		
Federal Republic of Germany	47	64	69	71	65	63	64	54	50	
France			56	57	55	56	61	65	58	64
Italy	32	31	32	32	36	37	38	39	40	
Netherlands		19	25	30	26	22	27	29	29	33
Great Britain	32	27	27	26	26	29	30	29	34	40
Weighted average			35	36	36	37	42	44	44	

SOURCE : Commission of the European Communities. Directorate General for Social Affairs, doc. V/1228/76/2.

Table Va

SIZE OF THE 15-19 AGE GROUP (WITHOUT MIGRATIONS)

	1975	1980	1985
Belgium	770	790	725
Denmark	367	385	366
France	4,130	4,217	4,152
Germany	4,424	5,067	4,673
Ireland	297*	314*	312
Italy	4,073	4,488	4,350
Luxembourg	28	26	24
Netherlands	1,145	1,204	1,168
United Kingdom	4,140	4,730	4,520

* *Data for Ireland is for 1971, 1976 and 1981.*

SOURCE : based on OECD documentation.

Table Vb

SIZE OF THE 60-64 AGE GROUP (WITHOUT MIGRATIONS)

	1975	1980
Belgium	526	372
Denmark	270	256
France	2,603	1,612
Germany	3,540	2,222
Ireland	145 (2)	143 (2)
Italy	2,944	2,160
Luxembourg	19	- (1)
Netherlands	590	475
United Kingdom	3,178	2,834

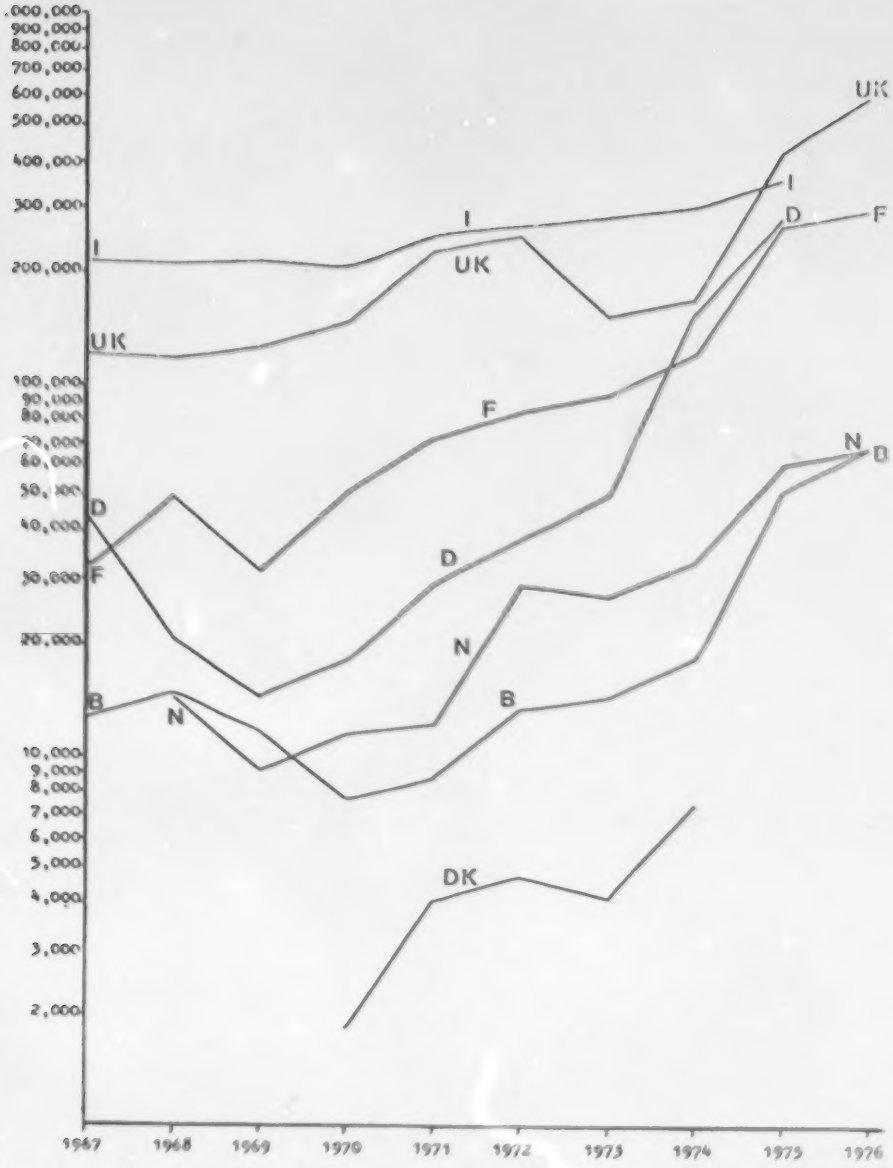
(1) 1980 data not available for Luxembourg.

(2) Data for Ireland is for 1976 and 1981.

SOURCE : based on OECD documentation.

Graph 1

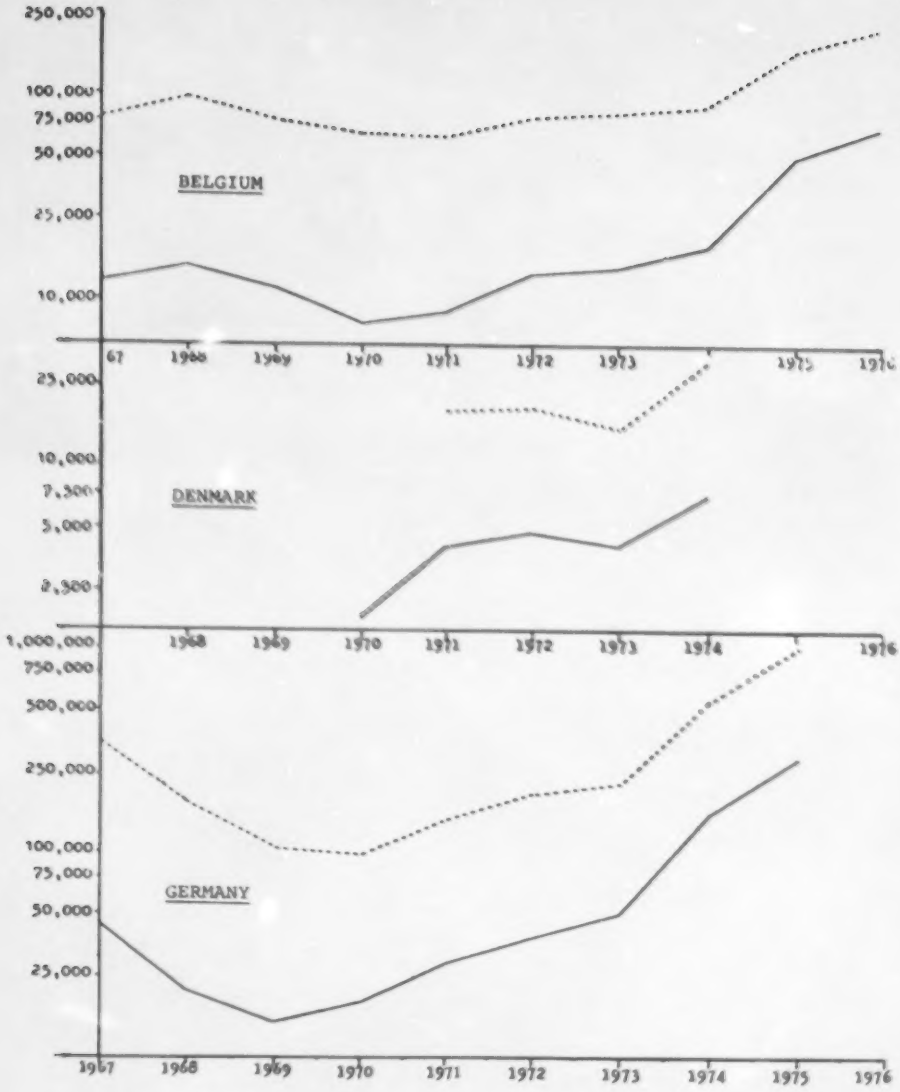
YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE COMMUNITY



SOURCE : Commission of the European Communities, Directorate General for Social Affairs, doc. V/1228/76/2.

Graph 2

UNEMPLOYMENT

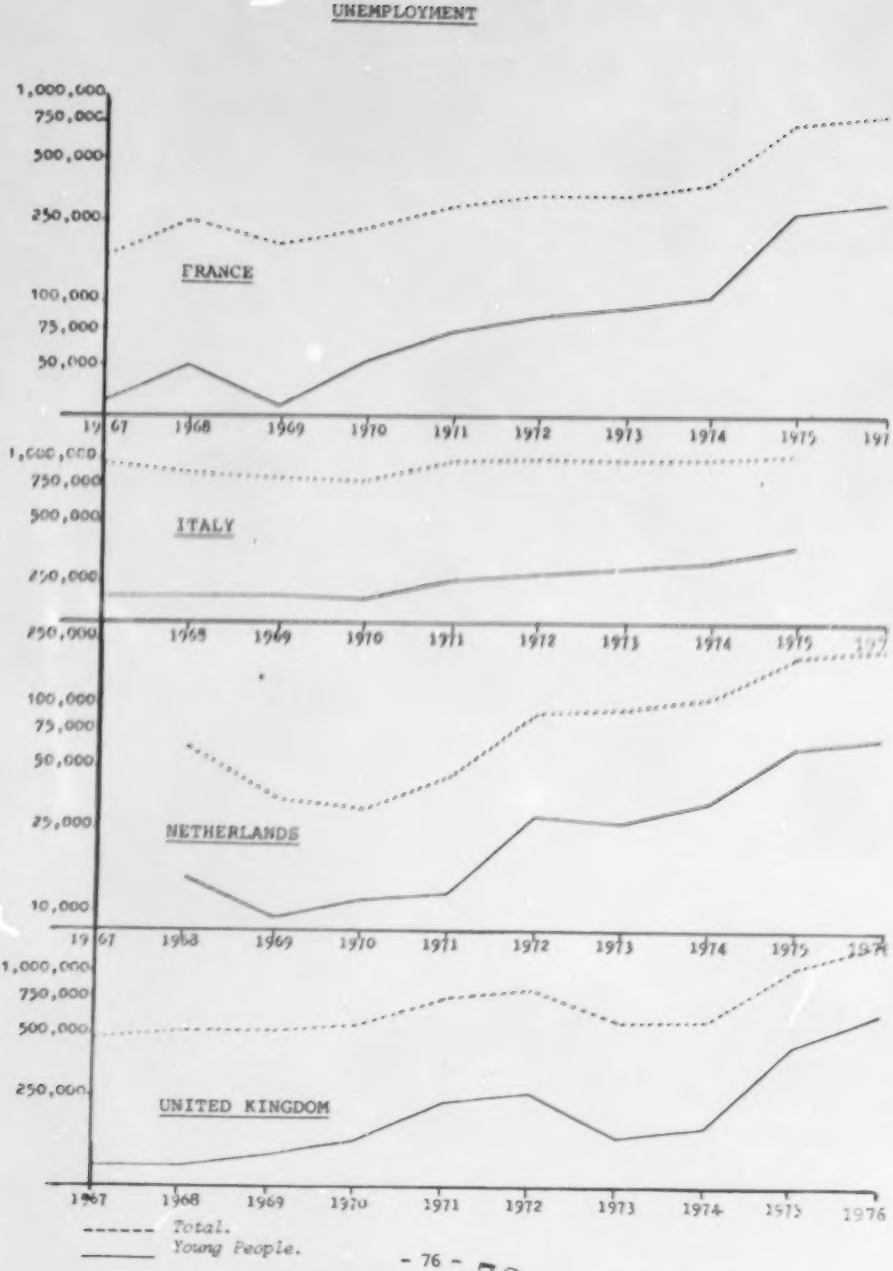


------ *Total.*

_____ *Young People.*

SOURCE : Commission of the European Communities. Directorate General for Social Affairs, doc. V/1228/76/2.

Graph 2 (cont'd :)



Annex II

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Annex III

Publications of the Institute concerning the relationship between Education and Work

BOOKS AND REPORTS

.BETWEEN SCHOOL AND WORK

edited by Ladislav Cerych, 1976, 200 p.
published by the Institute of Education

.EDUCATIONAL LEAVE FOR EMPLOYEES. EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE FOR AMERICAN CONSIDERATION

by Konrad von Moltke
and Norbert Schneevoigt, 1977, 269 p.
published by Jossey Bass Publ.

.RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES ON THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

report of a European Contact Workshop
(held in Bruges), 1977, 134 p.
published by Swets and Zeitlinger

.EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT : THE PROBLEMS OF EARLY SCHOOL-LEAVERS

by Olav Magnussen, 1977, 105 p.
published by the Institute of Education

.LES RELATIONS ENTRE LA FORMATION ET L'EMPLOI : ESSAI SUR LES DESAJUSTEMENTS ACTUELS

by Didier Jeanperrin
foreword by Jacques Delors, 1978
published by the Institute of Education

These titles may be ordered directly from the Institute of Education at the Paris address.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

.VOCATIONAL PREPARATION IN THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

a report prepared for the European Commission

.OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND MOTIVATION OF YOUTH

reports concerning Belgium, France and Italy,
prepared for the European Centre for the Development
of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) Berlin.